

PEACE NEWS

No. 558 March 7, 1947 3d.

CONSCRIPTION IN U.S.

Republicans may permit defeat of Bill

From FRANCIS ROSE RANSOME
New York.

LINCOLN'S Birthday was the occasion for a series of American demonstrations against peacetime conscription which culminated in the public destruction of draft cards.

At a meeting in New York, following a poster parade through the streets, forty-two men tore up their draft cards and deposited the pieces in a can. Men who had formerly refused registration or who had already stopped carrying cards gave their reasons and dropped substitutes. The original intention was to burn the cards then and there, but city authorities forbade the fire and the torn cards were eventually burned at the home of one of the organisers of the demonstration. Speakers at the New York meeting included an ex-soldier whose strong words against conscription were warmly received.

In Washington, fifteen men burned their cards in front of the White House and attracted widespread newspaper publicity for their picket line. Although several announcements were made, warning of the legal penalties of failing to carry one's draft card, no arrests were reported. It is estimated that over 500 men participated in this act.

Meanwhile, no conscription bills have been introduced into the new Congress. It is generally conceded that Selective Service will be permitted to expire at Mar. 31. Efforts are being continued to impress the people with the merits of "universal training" by the President and the War Department. The President's Advisory Commission on Universal Military Training is obviously intended to develop a plan for conscription and help to put it over. The members are mostly outspoken proponents of military training.

Conscription News (published by the National Council against Conscription) reports that: "The War Department has also made a point of sending Generals and other high army officials to cover civilian conventions for propaganda purposes. Instead of waiting until they are invited, as most speakers do, the War Department or some high official requests an invitation—or simply appears to work behind the scenes in an attempt to get the delegates to vote for a compulsory military training resolution."

Republican determination to reduce the Federal budget is threatening the military programme and arousing defensive protests from the army's spokesmen. One guess about the fate of peacetime conscription in Congress is that the Republicans may be intending to let the Democrats sponsor a bill, so that they may permit its defeat and take credit with the public for doing so.

Complete amnesty for U.S. C.O.s was urged by the large majority of witnesses who testified before the President's Amnesty Board.

On the basis of the testimony, the Board will submit a report to President Truman. Justin Feldman, representing the American Veterans' Committee, called for "an amnesty which would include all men who have been imprisoned under the Selective Service Act because of their religious, moral, or political convictions."

He told the Board: "The AVC certainly does not agree with the stand that opponents of the draft took during the war. But we harbour no bitterness toward them. Indeed, we feel strongly that the punishment of these idealists should have stopped long ago."

WHAT MATTERS MOST?

QUITE recently I was startled, and indeed shocked, to hear a member of the Society of Friends—a man whom I both like and respect—say in Friends Meeting that the Atomic Bomb, and what it stood for, was, for a Christian, comparatively unimportant—because, apparently, it belonged only to the material world in its value or lack of value; and that the really important thing for Christians was unity with Christ in the Fatherhood of God.

I tried to find understanding, even though I could not find agreement, in so strange a point of view, (and I may have found it) in the analogy of the very real unimportance to the life of Christianity of the attempted extermination of the early Christians by pagan Rome. Christianity thrived on it, and conquered it; and then (having conquered it) was absorbed into the secular system and became the established religion of the Roman Empire. And from that fatal day on, accepting allegiance to Caesar, "the Prince of this World," (of whom Christ said "he hath nothing in me") accepted war as compatible with the profession of a follower of Christ. That was important—terribly important: and from that day on Christianity has borne a maimed and half-hearted testimony to the teaching of its Founder.

The Betrayal

In the Middle Ages the Church, vitiated in its acceptance of compulsion and torture by the instruments of war, practised compulsion and torture for the suppression of heresy. In a way, that too was unimportant: heresy was not put down by it: free thought in matters of faith and doctrine won through, and defeated authoritarian exclusiveness. But it did matter profoundly to the authority which committed itself to that betrayal of Christianity. Largely because of that betrayal Christendom has been divided ever since, and there has been as much lack of charity between the religious bodies as between the secular bodies of Western civilisation. Indeed one of the most devastating wars of modern history was the Thirty Years War of the seventeenth century, which had its origin in the division of Christendom, which infected the nations with the virus of its hatreds. All this had at the back of it the cocksure pretensions of the theologians, who were so sure they were right in exalting dogmatic Christianity over what I venture to call true humanitarian Christianity.

I have lately had reason, in the pages of Peace News, to distinguish between dogmatic theology and humanitarian theology, which for brevity I call "Humanism." And my reason for doing so is my profound conviction that you cannot separate Christ from Humanity.

For Christians Christ, making himself one with men, took the manhood into God, and became the inseparable representative and expression of the human race and man's Eternal Ne-

—by—
LAURENCE HOUSMAN

cessity for salvation here on earth from his own powers of self-destruction. Unless we accept the way of Christ—doing to others as we would they should do to us, returning good for evil, overcoming evil by good in the faith that good is stronger than evil—we are doomed.

It is all summed up simply in the words of Christ, "Whatsoever you do to the least of these ye do it unto me." He said that in his parable of the Son of Man delivering final judgment on the human race, and it referred to the deeds of kindness and service done or not done by man to his fellow-man.

It is equally true—and this is what I want to stress here—equally and wholly true of the evil and cruel deeds we do to our fellow-men, whether

they be of our own country, or of countries with which we are at war.

You cannot separate Christ from humanity: and when we bombed whole populations of the German cities—roasting to death hundreds and hundreds of men, women and children in the air-raid shelters in which they had vainly taken refuge, we did it to Christ. And it was the same over in the Far East, when to shorten the war for our own evil satisfaction on the hideous self-righteous terms of "unconditional surrender," we did it to Christ.

What is left?

And that is why the Atomic Bomb was important. In so separating ourselves from our fellow-man, we separated ourselves from Christ, and the common Fatherhood of God. If we defend that, what is left to us of Christianity worth having? It becomes mere litter and dust, the logical outcome of our acceptance of war as compatible with the mind of Christ.

An unknown writer of the 15th century defined sin as separation: "separation," he said, "is the only sin," and I believe that the true key to Christianity is to be found in the impossibility of separating Christ from Humanity, and that "what we do to the least of these" we do to Him.

The decline of Britain?

IT is unpleasant to be a Jeremiah; but it is dishonest not to admit that most of the brave hopes aroused in this country and in the world at large by the advent to power of the Labour Government are now dead and buried.

When the industries of Britain have to close down for a period because of a shortage of coal, the world knows, even if we do not, that a great chapter of our history is ended. And it will take a more striking demonstration of our national will to exist than there is as yet any sign of our giving to convince the world that we are not slipping swiftly down the slope of disintegration.

Perhaps our rake's progress will be checked. But again it would be dishonest not to say clearly that the only thing that can check it is a very widespread moral renaissance: an assertion of the moral will to be a new kind of national community, in which is manifest the twofold determination: to strive for social justice, and to work hard at the daily round, the common task, in order to make its achievement possible.

Moonshine

FOR a country in Britain's position at the end of the war, Socialism without hard work was just moonshine. Actually, this was always true. If there had been a social revolution—and the advent of a Labour Government to effective power means that—at any time before the war, it would have involved hard work for everybody. A social revolution at the end of the most ex-

COMMENTARY

by
John Middleton Murry

hausting war in British history required hard work from everybody with knobs on. It is even now utterly astonishing to me that practically no member of the Labour Government—always with the honourable exception of Sir Stafford Cripps—appears to have realised this elementary and elemental fact, or had the courage to insist upon it.

Anyway, two things are now perfectly clear. First, that the Labour Government was returned to power merely by an automatic swing of the pendulum. The people were weary of the war, the war-government, and the war-leader. Second, that in so far as the organised Labour movement—in particular, the Trade Unions—wanted Socialism, it was because they had not the faintest idea of what Socialism really involved. Socialism brought the pie down from the sky.

Need for Discipline

A THIRD point is not yet quite so clear as these two. But I fear it will prove to be true, however amazing. It is that the responsible political leaders of the Labour Party had no more idea of what Socialism really involved than the Trade Union leaders. The one thing that was absolutely necessary if the experiment in democratic socialism was not to come to quick disaster was a new social and industrial discipline. That was the categorical imperative. Admitted that it was very difficult to establish this, among a people that had been encouraged to expect the relaxation of "peace" after a gruelling war, it was the duty of the Labour government to die in the attempt to achieve it: to break with the Trade Unions themselves if they refused it. The record of the Labour Government in this matter is quite appalling. When courageous moral leader-

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

GOVERNMENT TO DEVELOP ATOMIC EXPLOSIVES

British Scientist Refuses Aid

PROFESSOR J. D. COCKCROFT, chief at the Didcot atomic research station, has refused to take part in any development of the military aspects of atomic energy, reports the Daily Express.

Plans have been made by the Government to develop atomic explosives for national defence if UNO talks on international atom control fail, the report adds. Dr. William G. Penney, FRS, another atomic scientist, will be in charge of developments as Chief Superintendent of Armament Research.

DR. NORBERT WIENER, professor of mathematics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has refused to give a lecture in a Navy-sponsored programme at Harvard University because he intends to keep his work out of the hands of

"irresponsible militarists." His subject would have been the abstract theory behind the ultra-rapid calculating machine, but even this might, he considers, be linked to some programme for mass slaughter.

He points out that the scientists who produced the atomic bomb expressly recommended that it should not be used on Hiroshima, and that they still believe a demonstration on an uninhabited island might have been sufficient to bring about the end of the war without killing 200,000 Japanese. Therefore he has concluded that the Army and Navy are not fit people to be trusted with scientific discoveries.

PEACE NEWS

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All letters on other than editorial matters
should be addressed to the Manager

OUR PROPAGANDA

THE recent controversy over vivisection, aroused by Dr. Hambling's article in PN, made us ask ourselves once more, Why do humanitarians so often spoil a good case? Why do they find it necessary to prove that the right is also the expedient?

Expedient in the long run morality must surely be. That the person or society which deliberately overrides conscience is doomed to ultimate disintegration, not only the novels of Dostoevsky, but the whole "Bible of History," bears witness. Conscience is part of man's nature; the systematic neglect or denial of it can produce only a population of cripples.

Any measure a man feels to be an outrage to conscience, therefore, he has ample reason for repudiating, whatever the immediate consequences. And never was it more imperative than it is today that men should vindicate conscience in this way. But to make out that morality is also expedient in the short run is not to vindicate conscience but to discredit it. It suggests that immediate expediency counts for as much as, or more than, the right; it suggests, in fact, that every martyrdom was a mistake.

Why, then, do anti-vivisectionists feel that their case is incomplete unless they can prove that insulin is useless? Why are vegetarians so insistent that vegetables have as many vitamins as veal? Why, above all, do conscientious objectors contend that Pacifism promotes peace?

We do not deny that Pacifism may promote peace, any more than we deny that vegetarianism or anti-vivisection may promote health; these are matters for experts to investigate. But we do deny, emphatically, that the case for Pacifism rests upon any such uncertain ground. The case for Pacifism is one that any man can judge simply by asking himself such questions as these: Is morality essential to society? Is conscience the only source and safeguard of morality? Is it possible, by any means, to degrade conscience? Is, or is not, the means of war "any means?"

That the public should be confronted with these questions is, we believe, even more important than that it should be confronted with our own response to them. Yet that too, which is our propaganda, ought to be heard: and at present it is being systematically boycotted. Mr. Walter Elliot, speaking in the House the other day, said "The views of the Right and the extreme Left are not unrepresented in this country, and they ought not to be unrepresented in the B.B.C." Every one of us can recall occasions when both Conservatives and Communists have been allowed to broadcast at length. But how often has Pacifism been put on the wireless? And what daily paper sprang to the rescue of Peace News in the recent crisis? And how many Pacifists are invited to speak to clubs and schools?

Unlike the extreme Left, we do not desire to suppress other people's propaganda; still less do we desire to "train our children to be Pacifists." But we do believe that the public, both young and old, should be aware of the Pacifist as well as other views, and be encouraged to judge between them for itself. We may be a very small minority, but we are not an insignificant one: whether or not our own response to it carries conviction, the challenge we represent is vital.

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A WORD TO FAULT-FINDERS

FAULT-FINDING and back-biting are admittedly among the less agreeable characteristics of the human species. They also happen, unfortunately, to be among the most common. The present Editor of Peace News, like his predecessor, hardly needs to be reminded of this fact. And recently, since I decided to transform the Letters to Peace Lovers into monthly articles for Peace News, I have been newly made aware of it by several correspondents.

Before me lies a letter from a loyal reader and supporter overseas. In quoting it, I intend no special criticism of the writer; she merely expresses, more succinctly than most, some typical sentiments which have reached me in a variety of communications.

"I should like to take the paper," she writes of Peace News, "but feel it's a bit under protest in exchange for your own leaflet. So often the articles in Peace News seem cheap and poor—a matter of scoffing at thought and action which is not constructive and hardly worthy of the great cause at stake. I think perhaps the very set-up of the journal makes one feel it cannot be taken seriously—naturally one cannot expect paper and style like The Times, but I do hope that the whole tone and set-up can improve. At the present time my husband . . . says no one would be converted by such a journal, and I feel the same for it has an irritating reaction."

. . . If one did not take Peace News, is there some other journal in which you would be writing? One in which one would not have to sort out the good wheat through quite so much sarcastic chaff!"

I sympathise with my correspondent, for I have sometimes privately echoed her sentiments. I know how easy it is to produce material which is young, brash and sarcastic, for I have been young, brash and sarcastic myself, and in the late nineteen-twenties and early nineteen-thirties was constantly sought out by Fleet Street editors as an author who could be guaranteed to write "provocative" articles. It takes an experienced writer to produce criticism which is neither destructive, irritating, nor dull. But Peace News has no Kemsley millions behind it. It cannot afford to employ experienced writers—unless they are prepared to contribute gratis. And how many professional authors who subscribe to the pacifist faith are really ready to forego that extra bit of income which could be earned in the morning or evening devoted to writing a free article for a struggling journal? It is so much easier to send in a short dynamic letter, criticising the Editor and his contributors.

Like my correspondent I know too, and have stated many times in print, that belligerent pacifism is a contradiction in terms. And I realise that belligerency comes all too readily to many sincere subscribers to pacifism, because it happens to be a characteristic of my own. When I joined the PPU after first meeting Dick Sheppard in 1936, it was partly be-

by
VERA BRITTAIN

cause I learned, from watching his superb technique in handling people, that for a naturally belligerent person there is no better corrective than the difficult lesson of becoming a reconciler. I suspect that my sincerely-mourned old friend Ellen Wilkinson—dead before her time, and before she had half-fulfilled the great educational task to which she was so well suited—may have joined the PPU for her brief period of membership with the same motive as myself. It was a rôle that she could not sustain—perhaps because she was too long-practised a fighter against oppression to find even the theory of non-violence congenial.

Fundamentally I do believe in the ultimate efficiency of non-violent methods. And yet, in reply to the readers who criticise Peace News on the ground of belligerency, I am by no means convinced that we can do without aggressiveness in fighting those old enemies of men—poverty, disease, exploitation, outworn tradition, prejudice, injustice and war—which are always being conquered, and always rising again. The mistake, I think, made by some writers in Peace News, and by many of its readers, is that instead of employing their natural aggressiveness against man's enemies, they succumb to the temptation of venting it upon one another. This tendency is especially noticeable at PPU Annual General Meetings, which it always impairs and sometimes ruins. I suggest a special AGM Pledge: "I renounce all criticisms, except in so far as I apply it to myself."

For that, after all, is the real answer to the fault-finders—those who think the set-up of Peace News so poor, its articles so cheap, and its attitude so unconstructive. Have they ever asked themselves how many of these disadvantages are due to lack of money—money to buy better paper, provide better print, pay distinguished writers for better articles? Money which they could provide by subscribing themselves and finding other subscribers, and which instead they propose to withhold by refusing to subscribe, justifying themselves on the ground that the only compre-

COAL AND CASH

AS though the fuel crisis were not trouble enough, our 1946 accounts have just arrived. If you could glance over them, you might share the extra sense of depression. The returns show that our income has continued to diminish. The hole that has widened most of all is in contributions to our HQ Fund. It began to appear just about the time we took office, and has worsened ever since. A clear case of cause and effect!

We have, in other words, failed to get the cash, as old Man Shinwell did the coal; and we can't even blame it on the weather. Nevertheless, icy blasts from Siberia have their day and cease to be. They worry us, but we carry on with our task of nationalising pacifism, as others do coal.

And not without encouragement. The writer of a letter from Germany regrets he is not in a position to respond to our Appeals in PN, but wants us to know that he "always finds them worth reading, like so much else in that good little paper."

Pats on the back are warming to the heart. But they do not fill our Fund.

**MAUD ROWNTREE,
CORDER CATCHPOOL,
Joint Treasurers.**

Contributions to HQ Fund since Feb. 7: £23 1s. 0d. Year's total to date: £72 13s. 1d. Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

hensive pacifist periodical is unworthy of their support!

Again I ask: How many of the experienced writers who profess pacifism are fulfilling their obligation to the pacifist movement? Some of the PPU sponsors have served it well; I am thinking especially of John Middleton Murry, Laurence Housman, George Davies, Wilfred Wellock and Alex. Wood. But there are others, and they must know it, who could do more. I should like to see every PPU sponsor regard a quarterly contribution to Peace News as an obligation of sponsorship. If an article proves too onerous for the non-authors, why not provide the cash which would enable the Editor to offer a worthwhile fee to some sympathetic professional author who cannot afford to write for nothing?

Once, at a meeting in Leeds during the war, I shared a platform with Professor Jean Inebnit, whose name needs no biographical description for pacifists. The newspapers had just been full of articles on the Bethnal Green shelter disaster, when nearly 200 people fell and were suffocated because a woman carrying a bundle and a baby had slipped down the steps in front of them. In beginning his Chairman's speech on Food Relief, Jean Inebnit commented: "People blame that woman for the accident. But I ask instead: Where were the shelterers who might have said, 'Let me carry your bundle, or take your baby, while you go down the steps;'"

So, in a similar spirit, I ask those fault-finders who feel unable to take Peace News because its print is bad and its paper poor and some of its contributors inexperienced: "Where are the potential readers who will provide more funds, and find more subscribers, and finance better articles, while the Editor blazes the trail?"

LETTERS

Removing Nazism

AS a German I am glad to have Peace News occasionally from an English friend of mine. After having read many copies I now know that a part of the British, even if it might be small, understand our situation and know how to solve the German problem in a way that would secure a real peace, without bitterness and resentment, by acting according to our Lord's prayer: "And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors."

Only by starting anew, cancelling all debts and claims on either side, the opportunity for such movements as Nazism would be removed. This consequently would render armaments an unnecessary expenditure, and would raise the standard of living higher in the long run, than reparations from a German nation that has been led into chaos by a leader who was chosen in despair because of the ever-remaining injustices of the Versailles treaty.

I very much wish Peace News a wide circulation, not only in England but also in Germany, as it would give Germans, in this day of despair, the conviction of a sincere fellow-feeling amongst our British neighbours.

HANS H. LAMPRECHT.

Bockstewe, Brunswick,
British Zone, Germany.

Professional Pride

THE question of vivisection raises an interesting question of psychology: the psychology of the organised, orthodox medical profession. The necessity of vivisection has been accepted by the large majority of orthodox doctors as an absolute dogma. To doubt it is, in their eyes, an intolerable heresy.

We have seen recently how orthodox medicine has cultivated a fanatical form of group pride. It is this pride, similar to the pride of an orthodox and autocratic church, which has made the path of Mr. Aneurin Bevan so difficult. It has nothing to do with efficiency or service. It is just pride. The M.D. is, in his own eyes, a sacrosanct figure, not to be doubted.

The defenders of vivisection do not deny the suffering. They very emphatically and angrily deny the right of anyone to question the privilege of the licensed vivisectioner to inflict the suffering. In this the professional doctor resembles the professional soldier, who, as we see today, claims a traditional and statutory right to do as he pleases. His calling entails suffering, but his calling is his own business and nobody else's. War and vivisection will go then together. They represent the same error and are defended by the same professional pride.

EDWARD G. SMITH.

18, Bedford Avenue,
Barnet, Herts.

The PPU and Palestine

DOES the Immediate Issues Committee seriously believe that "the withdrawal of British troops (from Palestine) by a given date would create the conditions under which Jews and Arabs might find the way to live together in harmony?"

If it does, the pacifist capacity for self-deception is greater than I imagined. Surely it is evident that the withdrawal of British troops would be the signal for open war between Zionist imperialists and Arab irrendists? Both sides are desperate, because both inspired by fear: the Jews as a result of their terrible sufferings in Europe, the Arabs as a result of the Zionist determination to seize Palestine. Britain can legitimately claim to be holding the ring.

The Immediate Issues Committee's statement is an example of what is, to my mind, political pacifism at its very worst. Not only is it based on the assumption that total disarmament will promote peace (which is doubtful enough) but that partial disarmament will promote peace (than which, I suggest, there could be nothing more false).

By all means let us press for total disarmament—that is a clear cut moral issue, a categorical imperative which demands obedience though the heavens fall. But to ask for partial disarmament is unsound in morals and in statesmanship.

MAURICE CRANSTON.

33 Warnborough Rd., Oxford.

TRAVEL IN GERMANY

March 7, 1947, PEACE NEWS—3

NIGHT was still trying to transform itself into day when I crossed the frontier from Belgium into Germany. The rubble, the bricks, the vast empty hole that was once the Siegfried Line, bore witness to the destructive process of the Allied bombardment and seemed to make real daylight impossible over the soil of Germany.

A German fellow-traveller in the train drew my attention to one of the bombardment's social consequences. The industrial workers have suffered so much more than the agricultural, that the man from the town now stands in a different camp from the farmer who is able to produce enough for his home consumption. The former factory-director has been transferred to the camp of the working-class; the villager has become a capitalist. If the townsman wants to get potatoes, he has to cope with the dislocated transport system, and then, unless he is lucky, with a farmer who will only sell at enormous black-market prices. To obtain eggs or special vegetables, you must have cigarettes or silver.

True the farmer has to deliver a certain amount of his crop to the distribution centre, but the authorities are unable to control the individual farmer's production. Only an improvement of transport will give the townspeople better opportunities to buy direct from the farmers, and then there may even be the possibility of re-opening shops to sell potatoes and fruit without having to have special ration-cards for every sort of food.

The Soviet Zone

My informant remarked that the land-reform introduced by the Soviet authorities in 1946 had made visible the first signs of an equal living standard between town and country. But he had little else that was good to say of the Soviet Zone. His relatives, who had recently fled from Silesia, had brought terrible tales of hardships:

"They tell me that German doctors are not allowed to treat Poles, and their German fellow-countrymen have no money to pay for any treatment—therefore they have to sell all their instruments for fantastically low prices. Germans hardly dare appear on the streets, for fear of being ordered out as special working commandos by the Polish police. They are forced to wear special arm-sleeves so that they are recognised at a distance. It is exactly the same as Hitler once did with the Jews."

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CZECHS TODAY

A Christian Pacifist Comment by

KARLIN CAPPER-JOHNSON

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—by— GERD TREUHAF

Leaving the ruins of Aachen and Cologne, the train moved towards Osnabrück. Here I changed coaches for one going direct to Berlin. This coach was for allied personnel only, so I was quite surprised to see two Germans sitting in my compartment. Later I learnt that they had special permission from the allied authorities to make use of it.

Our coach was comfortable and warm, but the others were unheated and the whole train had only a few windows. As it moved further into Germany and finally the daylight broke through, I was able to see the Germans waiting on the various platforms. The impression received of these Germans was a very unpleasant one. You could see undernourishment in their faces. The men still wore their former army uniform, and the dress of the women was very shabby.

At Dortmund station a small boy was running up and down the platform selling the New York Herald and Daily Mail. When he saw us (a few British officers, a French officer and myself), standing at the window and smoking cigarettes, he said in a very fast Westphalian dialect to his countrymen, who gazed at us as if we were Herrenvolk: "You see these men—when we are able to use the trains again, then Germany will be ours again." When I smiled, the boy realised I had understood him, and he quickly disappeared from our view.

The slave-nation

Nothing could have better expressed what the German people think about the occupation army. Until I heard the remark of the newspaper boy, I had not realised that the former master-race had transformed itself into a slave nation. Suddenly, the Germans are terribly polite, they are very helpful; they treat every foreigner like a super-man, their obedience is frightful and unbelievable. Perhaps they are thinking that we would have behaved like this if the Fuehrer had set foot on English or American soil.

At the same time, the Germans do not know the real basis of democracy, and here I am sorry to say, the occupation army act, not as democrats, but as individual dictators. Every soldier in allied uniform is aware of the fact that now he is a superman to the German, that with his cigarettes and chocolate rations, he is able to play his own dictator.

When the train arrived at Hannover the German compartments be-

came overcrowded, but there was plenty of room in our coach. A German policeman opened the door, politely asking if we would object to an elderly German lady taking a seat in our compartment. None of us objected, but soon after the lady had taken her seat, a German train official opened the door and said to the woman: "Who gave you permission to sit with the allies in this compartment—Don't you know that it is strictly forbidden for Germans to sit here?"

"These gentlemen were kind enough not to raise any objection when I asked them," she replied.

The official retorted "There is a French woman standing in the corridor, she has the privilege to sit here, so you must get out."

But there was even enough room for both women in our compartment, so the German woman asked the French woman if she would mind her staying. "Certainly not," was the reply, and the whole affair was settled.

This little incident reminded me of how the Nazis used to treat the Jews. The German people of today are playing the role of the persecuted Jews under the Nazi regime. No sign of democracy or humanity, or any of the ideals for which we fought the second world war visible.

BUNCLARK ON THE CRISIS

"NO hot towels today, sir," said Mr. Bunclark, seizing my cold nose with his chilly fingers.

I sat in my overcoat shivering not a little, and hoping barbers could shave from memory; for the contours of my face could hardly be visible in the dim candle-light that gave an almost ecclesiastical appearance to Mr. Bunclark's basement premises.

"They say this weather is coming from Siberia," continued Mr. Bunclark, "and I can well believe it. Them Russians are up to some new tricks, I shouldn't wonder, along of all this atomic nastiness. But it's an ill wind, as the saying is; and Mr. Shinwell must be thankful for it. Just look at us all now, using less fuel than ever we'd use in decent weather, and everyone believing it's the cold weather that's causing the crisis. Not but what a little snow and frost is what you might expect this time of the year. But these planners don't look at it that way. First you make your plan and tell everyone not to worry. Then, when something goes wrong, you take a look at the weather and say 'Well, I ask you—snow in January and February! Whoever would have expected that?'

"I HAVE been thinking of a hymn we used to sing when I was a kid. You remember it, may be:

"O come, O come, Emanuel
And ransom captive Israel."

Whenever I see the name of Emanuel Shinwell I can't help humming it to myself. Silly, I suppose. But there you are. Some say he ought to be sacked, but most of us are looking to him to pull us out of the mess he's got us into. That's the way with us Britishers. In Russia a bloke who does a thing like this is liquidated before breakfast by a firing party. In France they sack the whole cabinet. In Mexico they have a revolution and the Commander-in-Chief takes over the portfolio of Prime Minister. But here we have the sporting tradition, and the chap that makes a bloomer is given a chance to redeem himself by pulling us out of it.

"And there's a lot to be said for it, mark you. Some time before any of us were born a lot of strong-arm merchants gave themselves the land and all that was on it. I never read much history, but I know no man was ever born with a title deed round his neck, so if a man is a landlord today it shows one of his honoured ancestors must have been a successful gangster. The bigger the estate, the bigger the crime, and there's no way out of it. But what do we do about it?"

"Why, the more their ancestors pinched from us, the more we res-

VALUE OF NAZI EXPERIMENTS

SOME of the results of experiments by Nazis on inmates of concentration camps could be of great value. Dr. Mellanby told the Daily Telegraph on his return from Germany.

Treatment for typhus and malaria could benefit in particular from experiments which were often inhuman in the extreme.

Some of the experiments carried out in the camps were logical developments of those which had already been performed on volunteers from the German forces. They included subjection of victims to mustard gas burns.

Experiments carried out in concentration camps could not be condemned in their entirety. Those of Prof. Schilling, formerly German representative on the League Malaria Commission, were, on the whole, comparatively well conducted.

Those experiments which could have no other purpose than to gratify sadistic impulses, and others which were bestial and unfit for publication, also happened to be those which were of no use to medical science either.

pect such people. What's more, they are the chief props of justice, the magistrates and the House of Lords. Just you try to pinch a few acres of land today, and see what happens. Every landowner in the country would be anxious to redeem the dark record of his family by clapping you in the can.

"I'VE heard say we didn't go to the heathen for the good of their souls or for our own health, but to make money. I don't know much about that; but I've had a few sun-dried types from the Tropics in my shop, and it didn't sound as though they was on fire with brotherly love for all the various coloured niggers they'd been patronising with their services.

"But there's one thing everyone is agreed about, including the Socialist Government, and that is that we've got to stay in these unhappy countries until the benighted heathens make it too hot for us, like they have in India. It's all the same principle. You go to a country for slaves or ivory or gold or diamonds, and then you just have to stay on for the benefit of the unlovely and unworthy inhabitants. You come in as a brigand, but you stop on as a copper.

"I reckon it's like that with the Government—and with all Government. The Government gets you into a war, and then relies on your loyalty to pull them safely out of it. It lands you into a muddle or a crisis, and the same man who takes chief responsibility is given the powers of a dictator in order to save the nation. At least, that's the British way.

"You know the old story where the doctor, the engineer and the politician were arguing about their jobs? The doctor said his was the oldest, because the making of Eve out of one of Adam's ribs was a major operation. The engineer, he said his job was older, because the making of the world out of chaos was a fine piece of engineering. But the politician just asked who made the chaos.

"Ever since then we've trusted them to clear up the mess, in the hope that the men who made it ought to know most about it. It's an odd system, but on the whole it pays."

"Pays," I asked, "who gets paid what?"

"Next please," said Mr. Bunclark.

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THEN AND NOW

By H. GARDINER

BEING in the midst of an economic crisis is no new experience. The recently-issued White Paper has stimulated a spate of analysis, speculation and prophecy, mostly dismal.

The man-power problem appears to be the heart and soul of the present trouble; and obviously it is important, especially as the Government persists in maintaining inflated armed forces, and may adopt a plan that will not be acceptable to large sections of the workers—that of employing foreign labour. It may be well to remember, however, that this is not really a new economic crisis, but an old one in a new form.

During 1932-3, there was also a man-power problem. We had nearly three million men and women unemployed. Yet there was no conscription then! No White Paper about that man-power problem! No raging, tearing press campaign calling upon employers, leaders of industry, rulers and statesmen to put their backs into it to solve that problem! And it was a Labour Government in office then, though not with full powers, which became the willing instrument for introducing the economy cuts, the means test, etc. They called it "equal sacrifices from all." Yes! Poverty in the midst of plenty, and that Labour Cabinet's remedy was to increase the poverty in the midst of plenty.

The transformation

Towards the end of 1934 there were a few definite signs of a partial recovery from the crisis, despite the prophecies of the Marxists. At this period, coinciding with Dick Sheppard's letter to the press, there were potentialities for the creation of peace, true democracy, social and economic justice, or what is now sometimes described as a free society. But the statesmen lacked vision, understanding and the capacity for sacrificing power and prestige, thereby accentuating the drift into the war from which we have recently emerged.

The war has caused a tremendous and significant transformation. The political and economic apple-cart has been upset, the tables have been turned. The workers now find, as if by some miracle, that they have the ball at their feet. And because many sections of the workers have decided to kick the ball, making for the goal of higher wages and a shorter working week, the kickers of pre-war days are becoming all hot and bothered. They are preaching a new and strange doctrine to the workers, one that sounds like a call to repentance and atonement. Stranger still this doctrine seems to have the blessing of the Labour Ministers, who have evidently forgotten their former socialist objectives.

Poetic justice

The new doctrine is having little or no effect on the main body of the workers. Is that surprising in the circumstances? I think not! On the other hand, there is a kind of poetic justice in the fact that the Labour Government now in office with full powers has a reversed man-power problem to handle; and a reversed financial and commodity problem.—For whereas in the pre-war crisis we were told that there was "no money," wages and the dole had to be cut if we were to hold our position in the world's markets, now there is plenty of

money, too much in fact, almost an inflationary situation; and as for commodities, there is no need to enlarge on the subject, though rationing does ensure the workers a reasonable share of what is available.

What is the point in this contrast? First, and partly prompted by some recent views expressed in Peace News, everyone should pose to himself a few pertinent questions.

1. What part did I play in the pre-war crisis: was I on this side or that, or was I endeavouring to maintain an attitude of neutrality?
2. On the basis of a straight answer to this question, what part do I mean to play in relation to the present crisis, and have I real justification for my anticipated action?

Some of us can argue, logically enough perhaps, that the present attitude of the workers, in face of the general situation, is ethically wrong; that, even although badly treated before the war, the workers should return good for evil. But we must remember that Socialist teaching has not included the Christian ethic of returning good for evil. And even assuming that Socialist teaching includes some element of the Christian faith, and acknowledging the fact that we are all guilty and bear some responsibility for the present situation, we have still to ask, should the workers be the only ones to repent and change their ways? What of our leaders, Socialist, Conservative, Industrialist, etc., who for the most part are asking the workers to mend their ways while showing little or no sign of doing so themselves? Should they not also be called upon to repent and mend their ways? Is it not, indeed, one of the main duties of leadership, to show the way? Unless our leaders do repent and change their ways, their exhortations to the workers to display a better spirit can avail nothing. The only possible outcome, in my view, will be to drive large sections of the workers into the hands of the Communist Party.

Signs of conversion

If a conversion on the part of our leaders were conceivable, what would be some of the signs? I would look for the following:

1. That the Government had decided to abolish conscription, not only because such a course was in accordance with Socialist teaching, but also because conscription is a violation of Christian and Spiritual Law.
2. That our leaders had decided to embark on a policy of speedy demobilisation, not because the extreme Left is clamouring for it in accordance with their own political objectives, nor merely because it is demanded by the present man-power emergency, but because righteousness and the creation of a peaceful and harmonious society necessitate it.
3. A clear indication that our leaders had decided to abandon the "Continuity of Policy" so acceptable to our previous statesmen: substituting for an export-drive, a determination to develop British resources to their greatest capacity, in other words, to make Britain as self-supporting as humanly possible. And, in harmony with such a home policy, a foreign economic policy based upon the principle of exporting commodities that other countries need and cannot produce for themselves, in exchange for imports that we need and cannot produce for ourselves.

The failure to adopt such changes of attitude and policy will lead, inevitably I believe, to a split in the ranks of the labour and trade union leadership. We shall see the further growth and consolidation of the two main contending forces in the modern world, Russia and the Communist International v The Rest—with more than a possibility of the former emerging successful so far as materialistic power is concerned.

Even if that were not the prospect, however, we, who have no intention of giving our allegiance either to Russia or the West, because we realise that any materialistic society has within itself the seeds of its own destruction, should be primarily concerned with the establishment of that spiritual foundation apart from which no society can endure.

Challenge to Pacifists

IT is a matter for deep concern that many pacifists show no real awareness of the country's economic position. Of course, most will say how serious it is but their concern is not sufficient to influence their actions to any great extent, otherwise we should not see so many COs leaving land work, etc., to return to occupations obviously, and often admittedly, not nearly so vital.

Those who should know tell us that the nation is "broke," that our overseas capital has gone, that we owe huge sums to many nations, that our creditors are getting anxious and impatient, and on top of all this we are still consuming more than we produce. The government (and most pacifists, apparently) are putting all their trust in our shortly being able to produce more than we consume with a sufficient surplus to repay debts fast enough to keep our creditors from getting too agitated.

We must judge for ourselves if this can be done, remembering that as well as being able to produce the goods, we must get the people to whom we owe money and from whom we continue to import, to take them. Supposing we cannot do either or both these things—I believe it is almost an impossible task and that for many reasons we shall be unable to reach the production target within a reasonable time—what then? Do we think other countries are going to be very, very kind and continue to supply us with goods for nothing and forget the huge sums we already owe them? Or will they feel bitter and angry with us for defaulting, and refuse to send us anything more except against hard cash? If the latter, what becomes of us?

The economists' cry

"Import or die" cry the economists, and whilst many of us may not agree entirely with this, there is no doubt that a sudden falling off of imports (the bulk of which are food and raw materials) will mean such suffering throughout the country that we hardly dare try to visualise it. Perhaps that is why our political leaders and foremost writers, who have lately shown signs of some awareness of the gravity of the position, dare not face up to the effects of such an economic breakdown. They always leave it at—"and if we can't reach the required export figure, well!" and one can almost see the hopeless shrug of the shoulder.

This ought not to be good enough for pacifists who have long foreseen that such a breakdown may very well arise—Peace News has warned us often enough over several years now—and we should be sparing no effort to plan for the disaster when it comes.

—by—

HAROLD GOODWIN

It should take precedence over all other activities.

What will even such things as conscription and the atom bomb mean in a country faced with mass unemployment and starvation, against which the between-war slump and the present coal crisis will seem minor inconveniences?

It will mean amongst other things, loudly denouncing the Government's policy of still importing goods other than necessities (self-denial of such things as tobacco, films, fruits such as tangerines, etc., will follow); it will mean living at a much lower standard than is general today, particularly amongst pacifists; and above all it will mean asking oneself: "Is the work I am doing vital to the community and, if so, am I putting every ounce into it?" It will not mean joining in the demand for shorter hours and higher wages; nor constantly talking of when things return to normal; neither will it mean continuing to treat the world as a place where we can leisurely follow our intellectual pursuits and where the least important thing is to produce the necessities of life.

Above all, we should be in a position, by our own example, to point a way of life, a simple but satisfying way of life, that can still go on even though most imports cease, and we should be ready with a plan to help some at least of our fellows into that way of life when disaster overtakes the nation. Our own soil and resources can provide for most of even this huge population, but it will take time and time is short. We must act quickly if we are to be in a position to mitigate the sufferings of our fellows and give them fresh life and hope.

Are We Over Industrialised

THE country at the moment is in the throes of yet one more "crisis." The three immediate causes are obvious, namely the War, the Weather and the Fuel Minister's handling of the situation. Being obvious and superficial these three reasons of course engage the attention of our politicians, but the readers of Peace News are probably accustomed to looking beyond the symptoms to the fundamental causes of a social disorder, and may be expected to see in this crisis the inevitable outcome of our mode of living.

We are becoming increasingly machine-minded and mechanised until the simplest domestic operation has to be performed for us in a factory to the detriment of our health, character and peace. The extent to which this has happened is abundantly illustrated by the following incident.

MINT SAUCE

A woman in a grocery stores picked up a very small bottle containing mint sauce, practically it was a diminutive quantity of vinegar with a few sprigs of mint floating therein. The price was twopence. "I'll have this," she said, "for my Harry. He likes a bit of mint sauce on his mutton."

"Has he any work yet?" enquired the shopkeeper.

"No," replied the woman. "But we don't need the money. My husband has a good job and we can afford to keep the boy. The only thing is he gets so tired of doing nothing. He sits in my kitchen and

says, 'Oh, Mother, I wish I had something to do. I miss going to the factory.' Of course I don't take any money from him. He has the dole for himself so that he can go to the pictures whenever he likes."

This is a perfect replica of what is happening on a grand scale throughout our society. No wonder we are afflicted with first one "crisis" and then another in a never ending succession.

Let us return to the twopenny bottle of mint sauce. Surely it is within the power of the least skilled gardener to grow a root or two of mint, nor does it take a trained chef to wash the leaves, chop them up and pour over a small quantity of vinegar.

To produce the bottle of mint sauce, however, men had to go down the mines to fetch coal to produce electricity to run plant in a factory, glass had to be blown, bottles manufactured, labels printed, passenger transport employed to carry the factory workers and goods traffic employed to transport the bottles of mint sauce to the warehouses and retail shops.

Meanwhile, the young man who was to consume this particular twopennyworth of sauce sat in his mother's kitchen complaining, "I wish I had something to do," whilst the community paid him just sufficient to enable him to go to the cinema in order to escape from his boredom.

Is it too late to guide our steps to a more rational way of life? Or are we all doomed to be machine-minders in a totalitarian state in between the wars created by our perverted civilisation?

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THE ITALIAN PEACE TREATY

FREDRICK LOHR'S Rome dispatch

AT 11 a.m. on Monday, Feb. 10, in Paris, an Italian emissary signed the Peace Treaty with the Allies. Since no active politician wished to incur the inevitable odium attached to the signature of a treaty which the whole Italian Press declared in agonised tones was a "diktat," a "betrayal," an imposition "cruel and unjust," the Government chose an old-school diplomat, without party affiliations, to perform this service—the Marquis Antonio Meli Lupi di Soragna Tarasconi, one-time Ambassador to France.

The Italians certainly believe that they have bowed to force over this Treaty; even the Communists haven't a good word to say for it, and many organisations staged a demonstration of "National Sorrow" immediately after the ceremony at the Quai D'Orsay. This was signalled throughout Italy by sirens, and for ten minutes there was a complete stoppage of all work and traffic.

Treated leniently

She lost most of Venezia Giulia, was limited very drastically in her armed forces, and made to accept a token responsibility for 365,000,000 dollars reparations. But her Colonies are not irretrievably lost, she still retains South Tyrol and the Trentino, and in Trieste, with its new international status, the Italian majority will be no worse off than will be the other national groups. Trieste always was an international city in fact, if not in administration; a city far more international in character, language and atmosphere than ever was Danzig. At first thought, therefore, one cannot avoid feeling that the Italians make an awful squeal about being treated very leniently. Compared with the treatment of Germany, if they have not escaped the reckoning altogether, at least they have escaped the "vengeance."

But the Italian sees it differently. He is incapable of looking at politics so coldly. Three very strong moral resentments make his reactions emotionally explosive: Firstly France, secondly the Yugoslavs, and thirdly the Allied Propaganda.

France. Italians cannot endure the humiliation of having France as one of the victorious signatories. After all, they say, the Italian army did fight the Germans. Italy's contribution to victory was very real. But what did France do? What now justifies her being the judge of Italy? Never mind, they insist, about recent propaganda glorifying a few patriots and boosting a very questionably motivated resistance; as a nation France collaborated almost cheerfully with the Germans, and even at the turn of the tide did little—except in histrionic print—to win the war. Why should France now clank the sword and strut as a victor? This attitude

would probably infuriate a Frenchman, but there's no doubt about it—Italians do feel touchy about resurgent France.

The Yugoslavs. No Italian can stomach the idea of his compatriots being ruled by Yugoslavs. Our progressive ideologists may raise their hands in horror, but the Italians know very well that as a nation, a civilisation, and in political experience, they are streets ahead of Yugoslavia, and it is quite impossible for them to tolerate the thought of Italians being subject to a people who, are in the opinion of a recent conversationalist, who put it mildly—"culturally backward." He was obviously a sincere and thoughtful Italian, so I said nothing but thought of Germany. It's a bit late now, I thought, to talk of differences in standards of civilisation. Everyone now seems determined to believe a collection of heterogeneous eastern peoples, tribes and communities have been somehow magically endowed with the necessary talents and imagination to give Europe a higher culture than its 2,000 years of effort have been able to erect. So I told my Italian friend it wouldn't help any to advance this argument. It would offend the intelligentsia at Paris. But he merely shrugged his shoulders. Apparently he doesn't read the New Statesman.

Allied Propaganda. Discuss the pros and cons of this Treaty with Italians and they will never tire of recounting how they were "seduced" by Allied propaganda. One is forever being faced with the notorious Major Stevens and his radio exhortations: "The Allies fight only against Fascism—not the Italian people. The troubles of the Italian people are all due to Fascism, and to Mussolini. Overthrow Fascism—get rid of Mussolini. Your plight is all due to one man—we are here to help you to rid yourselves of the tyrant..." They got rid of him, and now they bemoan that Italy is prostrate, robbed and humiliated. I seem to remember a similar propaganda from Britain to Germany. If my memory serves me well, there was also a speech of Churchill's which repeated the refrain. "...all the fault of one man—but get rid of him and we..." Yes, on second thoughts one can't help feeling the

AFTER YEARS OF ISOLATION

Hundreds seeking British pen friends

MANY Continental friends of the War Resisters' International, particularly German pacifists, are anxious to correspond with pacifists in England. Among those who have made such requests are high-school teachers, doctors, religious and social workers, kindergarten teachers, a pacifist judge and friends interested in philosophy, politics and economics. Further, there are architects and university students of both sexes. If you would care to correspond with any of these friends, please write to the WRI, 11, Abbey Road, Enfield, Middx., giving a few particulars of yourself and your interests.

The WRI has many hundreds of names and addresses of its members on the Continent who are in need. Will those willing to send parcels of food or clothing please apply to the International for a name and address. This request is an urgent one.

Dutch C.O.s too

THE War Resisters' International gives below the names of fourteen Dutch war resisters who are in military detention for refusing military service. They include war resisters on religious, humane and Socialist grounds:—

Gerard v.d. Bijl, Klaas Veenstra, Gerrit v.d. Hoff, Dick Hooiman, Siem Kruijt, Frans Lesthuis, J. Nachtegaal, Ben Niesink, Bert Pieper, A. E. Schilp, Rienus Smit, Aart v. Voorst, Gerrit de Werdt, Bob Westerveld.

The men would be encouraged to receive letters from comrades in other countries. Correspondence should be addressed to them at:—

Depot-en Detentiekamp.

Nieuwersluis,

Holland.

Appeal from Munich

ON behalf of the members of an International Correspondence Bureau in Munich, Miss A. M. Braun asks for pen-friends in Britain.

"Having been secluded from the outside world these long years," she writes, "we yearn for a real democratic enlightenment and a personal contact from man to man across borders, our members would only too gladly welcome and answer letters from abroad. Most of our members (among them scientists, students and other well educated people), have a fairly good knowledge of English, but would also be pleased to write in German if desired."

Miss Braun's address is:

13b München 15,
Lindwurm Strasse 126/a,
Germany Bavaria, U.S. Zone.

Italians are justified in their rage. There's no doubt the Allied propaganda was very successful—there's no doubt also that Italy feels very disillusioned as the result of it.

March 7, 1947, PEACE NEWS—5

"A soldier may be forcibly dressed"

— says Mr. Bellenger

In the Commons on Feb. 11, the Secretary of State for War, denied allegations as to the treatment of a C.O. Private Harry Harrison, an I.L.P. member, registered for non-combatant duties who had been sentenced to two years' military detention for desertion over some years.

Mr. Rhys Davies had asked for what offence Harrison was given a hot shower-bath and placed almost immediately in a punishment cell known as the "ice-box" in which an electric fan built into the ceiling was switched on to produce a cold blast of air; whether he was aware that on the same date Harrison was stripped and dressed in uniform against his will by three Sergeants, and what action he proposed to take in the matter.

In reply the Minister said:

"Private Harrison was admitted to the detention barracks at Fort Darland and in the usual manner taken to the shower baths to wash. After his bath he was given his uniform and refused to put it on. He was then taken to a silent cell, to avoid dis-

TO-NIGHT

Lord Beveridge, Mr. Victor Gollancz, Miss Vera Brittain and Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, M.P., are to be the speakers at a mass meeting under the title "Germany, Europe and Peace" to be held in the Kingsway Hall, London, on Friday, Mar. 7 at 7.30 p.m., (admission free) under the auspices of the National Peace Council. The meeting is being held on the eve of the Foreign Ministers' Moscow Conference.

turbance in case it became necessary to dress him forcibly. Here he obeyed the order to dress himself in his uniform. This room contains an electric air extractor and is heated with warm air driven by an electric fan.

"A soldier under sentence in a military detention barracks may for the sake of decency and health be forcibly dressed in uniform, provided that no more force than is necessary is used. None of the treatment that I have described constituted a punishment, and the suggestions made in the Question bear no relation to the facts..."

At the detention barracks Harrison told Denis Hayes of the Central Board for C.O.s that after a few minutes in the cell he began to shiver and that after a time his limbs began to shake badly with the cold; that later three of the staff had burst into the cell and on his refusing to put on uniform, two of them had dressed him in uniform after taking off his civilian suit.

The War Office have now informed Harry Harrison that he is to be allowed to appear before the Advisory Tribunal, where he will be represented by Fenner Brockway. Strong representation had been made by the Central Board for COs

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MEETINGS, &c.

CONWAY HALL, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. Thurs., Mar. 13, 7 p.m. "World Government—How?" (Brains Trust). Brains: Dr. C. E. M. Lead, W. Teeling, MP, R. W. G. Mackay, MP, Miss M. Wingate. Question Master: Hon. Max Aitken, DSO, DFC, MP. Admission free. Some reserved seats, 1s., from Federal Union, 20 Buckingham St., W.C.2.

KINGSWAY HALL, W.C.2. Fri., Mar. 7, 7.30 p.m. "Germany, Europe and the Peace." Lord Beveridge, Victor Gollancz, Vera Brittain, R. H. S. Crossman, Rev. Henry Carter. Admission free. National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

KINGSWAY HALL, W.C.2. Lunch-hour meeting, Wed., Mar. 12, 1.15. "Far Eastern Storm Centres." D. R. Rees-Williams, MP. Admission free. National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

KINGSWAY HALL, W.C.2. Room 41. Mar. 15, 3 p.m. Sybil Thorndike in poetry readings. Speakers: Lord Faringdon, J. Allen Skinner. Afternoon tea. All welcome. Collection. London Rally members and friends. No Conspicuous Council.

LONDON, W.C.1. 8 Endsleigh Gardens. Discussion lectures every Sun., 7.30 p.m. Mar. 9: "Tito's Aims in Trieste." Bill Mansbridge. Mar. 16: "God and the State." Bert Smith. London Anarchist Group.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

SOUTHAMPTON. Friends' House, Ordnance Rd. Mar. 8, 3 p.m., meeting, special speaker Runham Brown (WRI), members and friends, 6 p.m. Essential keen members and delegates attend. Required nominations new officers, volunteer as Secretary. Southern Area AGM.

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Moral renaissance or Fascism.

THE WEEKS BETWEEN

Feb. 14 Today's British Medical Journal praises the work of family service units and suggests their work should be extended since a tenth of our population consist of problem families.

Feb. 19 There was an interruption from the gallery at Chesham court today, reports the Evening News, when Alfred James Holland, a C.O. aged 19, of Amersham, was summoned for failing to comply with a direction. Mr. John Bunney stood up and said: "This young man is acting on principle. He is a Quaker and the matter is being passed over too lightly." Holland refused to pay a £10 fine and was sentenced to one month's imprisonment.

Feb. 20 "I have returned from Germany convinced that the positive way to permanent peace is the education of a generation of German youth that will refuse to accept the possibility of war," writes Lady Violet Bonham-Carter in the Star. "I believe that even now it could be done. I was deeply impressed by the spirit and quality of our Education Officers in Germany."

Feb. 21 The three Yugoslav Jehovah's Witnesses' death sentences were commuted to 20 years' imprisonment. Many protests against the original sentences had been made in this country.

Under a new compassionate repatriation plan 500 German PoWs will be allowed to go home each month.

Feb. 24 President Truman asked Congress to take prompt action to authorise U.S. participation in the U.N. International Refugee Organisation. The President pointed out that firm and prompt action by the United States might encourage other nations to make definite commitments to IRO.

Immediately after the President's message was read in the Senate, Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Vandenberg and Senator Connally introduced in the Senate a resolution to carry out the President's request. And in the House, Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Eaton introduced enabling legislation.

Feb. 28 Permission to install a stained-glass window presented by German prisoners to St. Ambrose Church, Widnes, was given at Liverpool.

Mar. 3 President Truman today recommended Congress to abolish compulsory military service from March 31, reports the Daily Herald. The President made it clear that the reintroduction of conscription would be asked for if minimum strengths were not maintained.

Words of Peace - No. 206 HOUR of VICTORY

Can we, who in less than an hour have trampled under our feet the successor of Alexandra the Great, who was so powerful and mighty, and who see these kings who but lately were guarded by their tens of thousands of foot and thousands of horse, now receiving their daily bread from the hands of their foes, can we suppose that our present prosperity is likely to continue for all time? You young men be sure that you lay aside your haughty looks and vainglory in your victory, and await with humility what the future may bring forth, ever considering what form of retribution Heaven may have in store for us to set off against our present good fortune."

—Speech by the Roman General, Aemilius after the defeat of the Macedonians.—Plutarch.

IF BERNARD SHAW

were a member of the PPU he would be entitled to attend the AGM at

FRIENDS
HOUSE

April 19—20th.

HOUSMAN'S

"Anatomy of Peace."
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"Blake: A Psychological Study."
W. P. Witcutt. 8s. 6d.

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Max Plowman. 3s. 6d.

124 SHAFTESBURY AVENUE, W.I.

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

ship was essential, it displayed none. Most disappointing of all, perhaps, it displayed no awareness that it was necessary.

The road to fascism

THE crisis of Britain which has now become patent to the world will go on and on. It will end either—as I still dare to hope—in the triumphant reassertion of the will of the free society to exist, or in the collapse of the free society. Either the new community of social justice and hard work and genuine freedom which consists in willing the necessary conditions of freedom—will come into being, after much travail and bitter experience; or some kind of authoritarianism will be established.

If the lowering of our standard of life, which is now quite inevitable, brings us to our senses without causing the same collapse of social morality as has occurred in France, we may get through. But it is no good to pretend it is not touch and go, or that there is the faintest chance of success without a positive movement of moral renaissance. Whether sheer economic hardship—taking the form of a runaway inflation—can produce anything of the kind, I gravely doubt. It is more likely to produce that spurious movement of regeneration called fascism.

A sign of moral decay

THE basic and unanswerable question is: What latent reserves of moral energy does this country now possess? The truly shocking news that the British army of occupation has made, and has been permitted to make, an illicit profit of £58 millions, by manifestly immoral trading, out of the British state, suggests that we are as far gone in moral decay as any people. Perhaps it is a delusion to suppose that "the great heart of the British people is sound" any more. It will be bitter indeed to have to admit that. But there is no doubt at all that we are sunk deep in moral apathy, or that materialism—of every kind—has corroded conscience throughout wide strata of society. Instead of combating this, the Labour government has encouraged it. It has lost its moral authority. The Conservatives as a party have none. The situation is full of danger.

USSE CONFERENCE

FIRST GERMAN YOUTH DELEGATION

An International campaign to further the idea of a United Socialist States of Europe is being launched as a result of the Conference called by the Independent Labour Party in London during the week-end Feb. 22-23.

Representatives of the socialist and peace movements of Britain, France, Germany, Holland, Spain and Greece pledged their support for this object.

An International Committee was elected and met after the conference. It will meet again in Paris shortly to arrange a further more representative conference on the continent. National Committees to carry out the campaign in the various countries will also be set up on a representative basis.

An historic scene took place at the beginning of the conference when German and French delegates clasped hands in friendship. It was the first official occasion on which socialists from these two countries had met since the war. Heinz Joachim Heydorn, Grete Meitmann and Wilhelm Dittmar, representing the German Socialist Students' Federation, were also the first representatives of the German youth to visit this country since the war.

Welcoming the delegates, Bob Edwards, Chairman, said they came together as socialists, as equals and without any social hatred.

"Although we are here to discuss the unification of Europe," he said, "our aim, as international socialists, is for a federated socialist world, but we now see possibilities in our lifetime of making the first step to world socialism by unification of Europe with a policy of socialist rebuilding."

It was important, he said, that the first beginning of the campaign for the U.S.S.E. should take place in London because from London over past decades had come the forces which kept Europe divided.

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

Publications Received

The Silver Lining, by A. D. Belden. Ken-Pax, 5s. A collection of essays, Dr. Belden's weekly contributions to a Manchester evening paper. One imagines them, shining like good deeds in a naughty world, surrounded by the filmstar scandal, football results and racing prospects, of which London papers, at least, so largely consist. The essays are brief, though ranging over many subjects, and through them all shines a warm human personality, mature, courageous. Christian, and Pacifist.

Murder the Murderer (3s. 6d., The Delphic Press) consists of two chapters from Henry Miller's book on America, called "The Air-conditioned Nightmare." Henry Miller is an important writer and critic, with a passionate indignation against war and the conditions of human frustration, particularly in America, of which war is an outcome. This long extract makes one very anxious to read the whole book. Suitably to its title, it is printed in red!

Talking to Some Purpose (1s. 6d., British Federation of Young Co-operators) is intended as a guide for discussion groups on the subjects of the relation of Religion, Politics, Education, Economics and Art to Society.

Evidently a lot of thought has gone into making this booklet a clear and interesting, even an exciting, introduction to these perennially important topics, particularly for young people.

In a serious foreword to *Atomics No. 2*, published at 6d., The Social Science Association, who issue it, announce that their object is to increase interest in the Science of men's relationships within Society, and to make men aware of their mutual responsibility, as an offset to merely technical knowledge which bids fair to dominate us nowadays. This is an important aim, but the booklet is slight. One hopes that subsequent issues will give greater ground for expecting solid achievement in this direction.

Conscientious Objectors in Great Britain and the Dominions, by Robert S. W. Pollard. JP, 11 pages (1s.; 1s. 1d. by post from the CBCO, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.)

This article, reprinted from the *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law* for last November, is a careful, strictly factual and fully documented account of the various regulations applicable to conscientious objectors in the British Dominions.

SWISS OFFER U.N. PEACE SERVICE

THE Swiss have been concerned for some time over the contribution they could make to the United Nations without affecting their military neutrality—still the keystone of Swiss foreign policy. Recently the Swiss Peace Council, a federation of 22 organisations working for peace and world order, made a concrete suggestion.

They unanimously passed a recommendation asking the Federal Council of the Swiss Government to offer on behalf of the nation specific contingents of relief workers equipped with trucks to go to the aid of victims of any catastrophe, or of war.

This active contribution to the UN would continue effectively the work started and carried on so far by the organisation known as Don Suisse. Director of Don Suisse is Rodolfo Oligiati, who was one of the closest associates of Pierre Ceresole, founder of the International Voluntary Service for Peace. (Worldover Press)

PATRICK FIGGIS

Commencing on Mar. 9, leading up to Easter, Patrick Figgis will be preaching two special series of sermons on Sundays at 11.0 am and 6.30 pm at the Presbyterian Church, Regent Square, WC1. He will be glad to send a card giving details to anyone interested. Any readers who live in London will be welcome at these Services.

U.S. rejects homeless

Seven times as many persons have written to President Truman opposing the admission of displaced Europeans as have favoured allowing them to enter the United States. This is one realistic fact facing world-minded groups seeking to bring Jews and others in large numbers into the favourable conditions of American post-war life. (Worldover Press).

One of our contributors, D. S. Savage, of High House, Bromsash, Ross-on-Wye, has received an Atlantic Award in Literature from the Rockefeller Fund, designed to help English writers whose creative work was interrupted by the war.

ON Wednesday, Feb. 12, the National Peace Council commenced a new series of lunch-hour meetings in the Kingsway Hall at 1.15, entitled "Current International Problems." This was opened by Sir Harold Butler, KCMG., CB., LL.d., speaking on "Germany, Europe and the Peace."

As a consequence of the terrible evacuations that had taken place, the Poles and the Czechs are more afraid of a German come-back than they would have been otherwise. All Germany's neighbours were afraid of two things: a revival of German nationalism, and a revival of German industry: the instrument which enabled her to attack them with such enormous success. Yet so many of them depend upon German industry that they want it rehabilitated—at any rate to a considerable extent.

Mr. Robert Speight was unable to address the Feb. 19 meeting, as arranged, upon the subject of "In Partnership with France." His place on the platform was taken by Prof. Emile Audra, Director of the French Institute in London.

German revival expected

So far as France was concerned, Prof. Audra had the same thing to say as Sir Harold Butler. The French people are not convinced that another attack will not come from the left bank of the Rhine. What they also have in mind is: "Will Germany be allowed to reconstruct herself before we are allowed to do so?"

Prof. Rudolph Peierls, CBE., FRS., Professor of applied mathematics, at Birmingham University, spoke on Feb. 26 under the title "War, Peace and the Scientist." He was one of the British scientists who worked on the atom bomb at Los Alamos.

The whole tenor of Prof. Peierls' speech gave an impression of pessimism; the implication was felt that an atomic war, in which this country would be destroyed, was practically inevitable.

The only suggestion he could put forward was that every endeavour should be made to keep the whole question alive in public discussion. The Government would then know they had a backing in any reasonable step they proposed to take. They would be more likely to find the people ready to sacrifice some part of the national interest, if that would mean increasing their security from this kind of attack.

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Published from 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Clifford Printing Co. (T.U.), London, N.16.